

The Truth
about
THE SIKHS

DEVINDER SINGH DUGGAL. M. A.

Incharge,

Sikh History Research Board

Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
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FOREWORD

In keeping with the current campaign of vilification against the Sikhs on 12th, 13th and 14th March 1982, the Indian Express, a leading English daily published in its columns a series of three articles by one of its own columnists, Mr. Arun Shourie, who has tried in a most provocative and pernicious manner, to deface defile and distort the sacred tenets and traditions of the Sikhs, with a view to malign and demoralize them.

During the course of these articles this columnist has tried to prove:

1. That the Sikhs are traditionally treacherous in character and have ever betrayed the cause of the Country, first, in what he calls the first battle of freedom in 1857 and thereafter at all crucial moments during the course of the National struggle against the British.
2. That their leadership is totally inept, opportunist and devoid of any direction, which according to him, has never played any useful constructive role in history.
3. That there is no discrimination against the Sikhs and 'PANTH IN DANGER' is a handy bogey raised periodically by disgruntled and obscurantist Sikh politicians for ulterior motives.

However, this crafty columnist, right in the thick of his own invectives against the Sikhs, stages a complete and sudden volte face and as against his earlier stand about the Sikhs being a separate class of so called anti-social elements tries to prove:

1. That the Sikhs do not enjoy any sovereign religious status and are, to all intents and purposes, an integral part of Hinduism like the Buddhist and the Jains, 'khalsa' according to him connotes something 'Pure' and its distinctive forms and features are no more relevant in the changed circumstances of the modern world.
2. That most of the Sikh religious ceremonies are faceless and meaningless. He goes to the length of ridiculing some of the holiest ceremonies of Golden Temple, which incidently, are in practice ever since the days of the holy Sikh Prophets.
3. That Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Banda Singh Bahadur and Bhai Mati Dass etc. lived and fought for the greater glory of Hinduism.

And, finally, this over-enthusiastic so-called 'secularist' suggesting solution to the current conflicts in the country, impresses upon the authorities, the need to come with a heavy hand on all such elements, especially the Sikhs, who refuse to efface their separate identity and do not consent to fall in line with the mainstream of Hinduism.

Throwing all discretion to the winds, this 'proprietor of patriotism' wishes the State to impose a uniform civil code on all sections of people, no matter whether their religious or cultural traditions sanction it or not and in spite of all constitutional guarantees to the contrary.

The author had sent a rejoinder to Arun Shouries 'Politics of Pandering' and it was published by the Indian Express in the form of three articles which appeared in its columns on 20th, 21st and 22nd May, 1982.

However, as some of its more pertinent portions were held back by the Editor of the aforesaid Paper and also because some of the points had remained uncovered due to the difficulties of time and space, a fuller version of the author's rejoinder is being given in this pamphlet to cater to the pressing demands of a very large section of people, Sikhs as well as non-Sikhs.

DEVINDER SINGH, DUGGAL.

Arun Shourie's articles under the Caption 'Politics of Pandering' make a very distressing reading in as much as far from being an objective analysis of the current unrest in Punjab they are the outburst of a rabid communalist in whom the very ghost of Aurangzeb seems to have resurrected. They also take the lid off the so-called 'secular' columnist who has tried to deface and defile the holy Sikh tenets and traditions with a view to condemn their followers as the sole trouble makers, traitors and traducers, who, according to him, unless and until tamed and bridled, would not allow peace to be restored in this land. It goes to the immense credit of the Sikhs that they have kept their patience and poise even in the face of such grave provocations in keeping with their lofty traditions.

The articles are so patently false and fabricated that normally they should not deserve any serious notice but to put the matters straight and to avoid any wrong impression about the Sikhs, some of the facts of history have to be restated and re-called. The may be very unpalatable for Mr. Shourie and his kind but nonetheless, they are firm facts of history.

According to Nirad Chaudhary — himself a Hindu, at the easy acquisition of Power after centuries of slavery, the Hindus today are in an aggressive mood and that according to him, is the root cause of most of the inter-communal disharmonies. Their present mood is in sharp contrast to the cringing humility and servility with which the Hindus pocketed the most humiliating indignities that for centuries, were continued to be heaped on them as a class. For example, when Ala-ud-din, a Mohammedan ruler in the fourteenth century once asked his Qazi about the "Mohammedan Law prescribed for the Hindus, the Qazi replied "Hindus are like the earth, if sliver is demanded from them, they ought with greatest humility offer gold. And if a Mohammedan desires to spit into a Hindu's mouth, the Hindu should open it wide for the purpose. God created Hindus to be slaves of the Mohammedans. The Prophet hath ordained that if the Hindus do not accept Islam, they should be imprisoned, tortured and finally put to death". At this, the Monarch smiled and said that he was already following that law. Such an attitude towards the Hindus was not confined to the reign of Ala-ud-din alone. This was a continuous process right from the tenth century onward up to the end of the Mughal rule in India, which incidently the Sikhs contributed most to destroy. Its zenith was reached under Sikandar Lodhi (1517-1520) who according to Abdullah the author of Tarikh-i-Daudi "was so zealous a Mussalman that he utterly destroyed diverse places of infidels (Hindus) and left not a vestige them. He entirely ruined the Shrines of Mathura, the mines of heathenism. Their stone images of gods were given to butchers for using as weights for weighing meat and beef and the Hindus were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards and performing their ablutions. The famous idols of Nagarkot and, Jawalamukhi were also broken to pieces, which were given to butchers" (Elliot and Dowson : 1872 Vol IV PP. 439-40). Even in the face of such provocations and iniquities, the Hindus could not produce even a single reader of any note for centuries on end (Transformation of Sikhism by Gokal Chand Narang). According to Hari Ram Gupta the famous historian "during all this period the Hindu masses were completely demoralized and emasculated. They were forbidden to eat grain of a superior quality, to wear rich garments or to ride good horses or in palanquins and carriages. In certain provinces they could ride only on a donkey". Can Mr. Shourie or any of his kind name even a single Hindu in history who could dare to even protest against such a degrading and demoralising sub-human treatment to which the Hindus were continued to be subjected for centuries on end? Far from raising a voice of protest against 'such type of Zulum', the 'Hindu mind', according to Guru Nanak, "has become so very slavish that in all ways of life it has yielded to the Mohammedan way of thinking. In fact, on account of forcible subjection, hypocrisy, weakness of mind extreme humility leading to cringing servility had entered

the Hindu Character”. Even when the holiest of their temples (about which they have now become so touchy) were being desecrated and idols of holiest of holy of their deities were being given to butchers for using as weights for measuring beef, the Brahmins in the Moughal Court were assuring the Moughal Emperors that according to Shastras they (the Emperors) were the very image of God on earth (Dilishwar is Jagdishwar). Such indeed was the Hindu reaction to the centuries of most humiliating treatment to which they were being subjected at the hands of Muslim rulers. And, in practice, the supposedly bravest among them, the Rajputs, were offering the hands of their daughters and sisters in marriage to those very rulers. Thousands of their women folk were being taken to Kabul, Ghazni and central Asia to be sold in open markets for a penny or two or four.

When they as a class had lost all will to raise even the feeblest voice of protest against these indignities it was Guru Nanak, the Holy Sikh Prophet who for the first time in hundreds of years raised his firm voice against this ‘Zulum’ and told the people that:

“If we live without self respect
All that we eat in undeserved”
(Jai Jive Pal Lathia Jaye
Sab Haram Jeita Kichh Khaye)

Thus self-respect on the basis of justice and equity is the quintessence of the Sikh Ideals which in an age they were propounded and the country in which they were taught represented an entirely new concept of life. To enable the people to imbibe the abiding validity of these Ideals and to instill in them the will and the courage to uphold them at all costs, the Sikh Gurus set personal precepts of the highest order by making supreme sacrifices, including martyrdoms of Guru Arjan Dev (1606). Guru Tegh Bahadur (1675), Guru Gobind Singh (1708) his four sons and countless number of disciples. Freedom, Justice and Equity are thus the fundamental Principles of the Sikh ethos.

Most unfortunately, the heroic role of the Sikhs as the pioneers of Freedom and Justice in this part of the World has not so far been allowed to take its proper place in the pages of history, thanks to the subtle and even none too subtle efforts of those who are unwilling to accept them on terms of equality. When the Afghans in the eighteenth century had routed the Moughals and later the Marhatas at Panipat, it were the Sikhs and the Sikhs alone who stood between them and their territorial designs against India. It is now recognised by all the objective historians of the World that but for the bitter struggle then put up by the Sikhs the entire territory up to Jamuna would have formed part of the Afghan Empire. At the cost of the stupendous sacrifices, the Sikhs saved the geographical entity of India from being dismembered at that crucial stage of history (Evolution of Khalsa by Indubhusan Bannerjee). It were also the Sikhs who salvaged the honour of this country when they freed thousands of innocent young women from the clutches of Nadir Shah. Ahmed Shah and a host of other marauders who used to sell them in the bazars of Kabul, Ghazni and Persia, like Goats and Sheeps, again, it were the Sikhs alone who after thousands of years, reversed the course of history by routing the invaders back to their quarters and sealing the vulnerable areas in the North West against all future invasions with their blood and bones. Furthermore, the Sikhs have been the harbingers of the New Age in this part of the World. Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, when they held key to unlimited power, they used it with a restraint and compassion of which the true import is now being increasingly realised. For the first time, complete communal harmony prevailed in the North Western parts of India embracing the Sikh Sovereignty. Those who, today, swear by the ‘concepts of secularism and National Integration’,

but have in actual practice, turned them into instruments to persecute the minorities, have to learn from the Sikh Sardars and Maharaja Ranjit Singh who strictly conforming to the Sikh tenets, never discriminated against any body irrespective of his caste, creed or colour. In every Sikh State, more particularly under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a large number of Hindus, Muslims and Christians rose to the highest positions of power and wielded immense influence. It is particularly significant that not a single person of any denomination suffered capital punishment on any ground in the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh — an achievement which even the most modern states today, after about a century and half, have not been able to muster courage to emulate.

From the subsequent course of history, many have been inclined to give vent to their misgivings that the Sikhs proved perhaps a little too zealous about putting into practice the concepts of Freedom and Justice much as they did so perhaps a little too soon and in too ample a measure as the rulers. The betrayal played on them by those who benefitted most from the Sikhs' deep devotion to these Ideals is cited as a proof thereof.

But, the Sikhs could not do otherwise. They have been trained as such and no price for them is ever too great to uphold these values. That was incidently neither the first time they paid this price and nor the last. Their current predicament is also the direct result of the fraud played on them in the name of Freedom, Justice and Secularism.

It is now too well known that the Sikhs lost their Empire not in wars but in the dark cellars where aggression and treason joined hands to hatch a conspiracy against them. The traditional traitors and brokers connived with the British to raise their feudal estates on the ruins of the Empire of the Khalsa. Kashmir is one such example and the role of Tej Singh, Lal Singh (Brahmins from U. P.), Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh (Dogras from Kashmir), Khushal Singh (a Maharashtrian Bania), Sohan Lal Suri from Punjab and many others, is a standing disgrace to the race to which they belong.

However, they alone had a taste for slavery, but not the Khalsa. The Khalsa lost its Empire but not its will. Poignant references to it are available in the accounts of the eye witness, one of whom, General Thackwell, describing the scene at the time of the laying down of arms by the Sikhs, observed that the reluctance of some of the old Khalsa veterans to surrender their arms was evident. Some of them could not restrain their tears, while on the faces of other rage and hatred were visibly depicted. The remarks of one grey bearded veteran Sikh as he put down his gun, summoned up the mood of the Sikhs at that time. "Aj Ranjit Singh Mar Gaya."...Ranjit Singh has died today, he said.

Notwithstanding the laying down of arms, the passion for freedom continued to burn in every Sikh heart. When all other people in India had completely reconciled themselves to their subjugation, the Sikhs were the only Nation which kept the flame of Freedom burning. Almost immediately after the annexation of Punjab, they made it known, in no uncertain terms, their firm resolve to redeem their destiny, which they proclaim with beat of drum every day in every prayer in the litany — "Raj Karega Khalsa". And, contrary to the motivated and malicious meaning put on the word 'Khalsa', by Mr. Shourie it connotes an identifiable and sovereign religious Entity with distinct religious and social tenets and ethics of its votaries, whose geopolitical status is all too well defined. The deliberate distortion of the word 'Khalsa' is part of the scheme to confuse the Sikh Ideals and wean them away from the core-teachings of their holy Gurus.

Even when the British people had not as yet fully settled down in their new territorial

acquisition, Bhai Maharaj Singh of Naurangabad raised the standard of revolt in 1847, but, because of complete loss of eyesight he was betrayed into the hands of the rulers by some traitor (incidentally a Hindu) who deported him to Singapore where he died in Jail. S. Attar Singh Attari wale was another hero to revolt soon thereafter but, his was too lone a fight to succeed against a mighty world power. After 1857 the alien rulers of India tightened their rule but the flame of freedom in the Sikhs' hearts could not be suppressed. In 1872, their love of freedom manifested itself in the revolt of Baba Ram Singh, sixty-five of whose followers were blown to pieces at Maler Kotla by the British. Baba Ram Singh was deported but the resolve of the people irrevocably committed to Freedom kept their will whole. The fight as yet too unequal to succeed but the longing for liberty was warming every Sikh heart and was all too evident.

The Sikhs now decided to strike from another quarter. Some Sikh patriots living on the West coast of North America formed the revolutionary party, popularly known as 'Gaddar Party'. Another milestone on the path of Freedom was laid by the Sikhs who travelling by S. S. Kamagata Maru reached Budge Budge. Many of them were shot dead while some of them escaped to spread the message of revolution in all parts of India. It would be pertinent to make here a special mention of the fact that Lala Har Dyal and Bhai Parma Nand had also played quite a part in hatching this conspiracy, but, when the Sikhs fired with the passion for freedom were mounting the scaffold, Lala Har Dyal retired to the safety in United States, while Bhai Parma Nand tendered unqualified written apology to save his life.

The two main factors which had not hitherto, allowed the Sikhs' efforts for freedom to meet with any conspicuous success were the disparity in resources and the lack of any accredited party of their own to co-ordinate their efforts. Moreover, other people in this sub-continent had failed to muster courage to lend effective and active support to them in the fight for Freedom.

The formation of Shiromani Akali Dal on December 14, 1920 fulfilled one of the long standing needs of the Sikhs. They now had a common platform and common programme to purge the holy Gurdwaras of the corrupt elements and vest their control entirely in Sikh hands. This was a very vital part of Sikhs' fight for freedom because these holy places have always been the very life blood of the Sikh way of life. They have ever been the source of strength and inspiration to them in matters spiritual both and the extent to which these holy centres are free has always had a strong bearing on their socio-political status.

The Indian National Congress came into existence in 1885 and for many years was content with passing solicitous resolutions, making prayers and submissions for some marginal improvements in the administration. Right up to the end of the first world war the sessions of the Indian National Congress were invariably held under the shadow of the life-size portrait of British Emperor. But, as early as 1872, some 65 Namdhari Sikhs took up cudgels with the government, and did not relent even when they were publicly blown up with cannon fire for their patriotic feelings. They believed in pure khadi when Congress had not even dreamt of any such programme. They have consistently worn it till to-day. They never took up service under the British and decided all matters by reference to their own Panchayats, subsequent National Movements could not improve upon this programme.

In 1907, S. Ajit Singh, Kishan Singh and many other Sikhs played a very important part in the fight for freedom. During 1912-16 the freedom struggle got considerable momentum by the arrival of Ghadriles by the Kama Gata Maru and other ships. Most of them were Sikhs who died

cheerfully on the gallows for the love of their country. During the Martial Law Regime in 1919 the Sikhs raised a bold and open revolt against the British. Majority of the persons massacred at Jallianwala were also the Sikhs.

Gandhi Ji started non-cooperation in 1921 and, Roorki in Hoshiarpur District was the 1st village where the Sikhs surrendered their Lamardaries while the Hindus and Muslims refused to do so. The Babbar Akati movement organized entirely by the Sikhs was responsible for creating terror among the sycophants and stooges of the British who thought twice before coming to depose against the Patriots.

The Gurdwara Reform Movement though ostensibly organised for religious reforms in shrines, had also political dimensions in as much as it was a protest against the governmental interference in the Gurdwara affairs in connivance with the Mahants. Its success for the 1st time, exploded the myth of the invincibility of the British power in India. And this fact was recognized by no less than a person then Mr. Gandhi in a telegram sent to the Akalis, although earlier he had refused to lend his support to them.

The exceptionally bold resistance put up the Sikhs during the course of the Akali Movement coming in the wake of utter demoralisation caused in India by the ignominious failure in Chauri Chaura helped to rehabilitate the confidence of the freedom fighters and Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia was so much impressed by the Sikhs showing that he advised the Hindus to baptise at least one of their family member as a Sikh if they wanted to be free from British bondage. This was perhaps the tallest of the tributes paid to the Sikhs by any Hindu. And, the way the Sikhs faced the gravest of danger in Jaito Morcha inspired even Mr. Nehru to join their ranks. C. F. Andrews then saw the very spirit of Christ manifesting itself among the Sikhs.

It was again a Sikh, S. Udham Singh of Sunam who waited for 21 long years to avenge himself for the atrocities committed by Mr. O'Dyer in Jallianwala Bagh. S. Bhagat Singh, yet another Sikh made the supreme sacrifice for the National cause and set a sacred example for his countrymen, although his cause was betrayed at the time of Gandhi-Irwin pact. Still another Sikh, Rattan Singh and his associates, while being transported from Andamans in 1937 redeemed the honour of their countrymen by assassinating several of the British soldiers; although they had to pay the supreme price for this later on.

The I. N. A. also was first founded by no other person than a Sikh General Mohan Singh and most of the soldiers joining its ranks were also the Sikhs. The rebel units raised in Germany, Japan and Italy were also formed by the Sikhs and their heroic role in history forms the proud part of their story. Even the Marine Revolt at Bombay and the Signal Regimental mutiny at Jubblepur were also engineered by the Sikhs.

In 1942, in the Punjab, the Sikhs alone implemented the directive of the Congress in cutting wires and dislocating railway lines, although the Leaders who originally gave the call, subsequently declined to own the responsibility.

Thus, there was no sphere of national struggle for freedom in which the Sikh were not at the fore front. The sacrifices they made are the greatest, quantitatively and qualitatively both. In spite of the fact that their population then was not more than 1.5% of the total population their contributions in terms of sacrifices amount to more than 90%. During 1942-43 when

indiscriminate arrests were made during the course of Quit India Movement, the Sikhs contributed 70% out of the total Punjabis though their population in Punjab was only 13%.

It would not be out of place to cite here definite comparative figures of the respective sacrifices made by the Sikhs and the non-Sikhs for the cause of the emancipation of this Land during the course of struggle against the British. The following chart is a self-speaking evidence of the tremendous sacrifices made by the Sikhs, who, incidentally, did not constitute more than 1.5% of total population. Mr. Shourie should hang his head in shame — if it all he is left with any such sense, for having called the Sikhs, the traitors and collaborators. The blame may well lie on persons of his class who though more than 80% of the total population made less than 2% of the sacrifices. These figures have been mentioned by no less a person than Maulana Azad.

S.No.	Punishment Suffered	Sikhs	Non-Sikhs	Total
1.	Hanged	93	28	121
2.	Imprisoned for life	2147	499	2646
3.	Killed at Jalianwala Bagh	799	501	1300
4.	Killed at Budge Budge Ghat	67	46	113
5.	Killed in Kooka Movement	91	--	91
6.	Killed in Akali movement	500	--	500
	Grand Total:	3697	1074	4771

Most impressive these figures as they are, they are yet only part of the total price that the Sikhs paid for the emancipation of this land. These figures do not take into account the important contributions made by the Sikhs towards organizing the Indian National Army, the Mutiny of the Indian Navy and the strike of the Delhi Police in 1946. More than 60% of the 20,000 persons who joined the I. N. A. were Sikhs and it was first conceived and organized by no other person than a Sikh.

Thus, it is hard to find any activity connected with the freedom struggle in which the Sikhs were not in the forefront and in which they had not contributed far beyond their members.

This is, however, only one phase of the gallant epoch making saga written by the Sikhs with their blood and tears. The other, poignant though not of their own seeking, is yet far more poignant and tragic. About half of the total population was torn apart from their kiths and kins, their ancestral homes and hearths, the lands they had developed with generations of hard labour and above all from more than 170 of their holy shrines, including Nankana Sahib, Panja Sahib and Dehra Sahib. In its leading article the Statesman “wrote on January 3rd 1948:

“A mass transfer of population, a disruption of tradition and economy, relatively harsher and less manageable than any other calamity in the afflicted sub-continent, the Sikhs have been forced to bear. Probably about 40% of this small but doughty people are in one

manner or another describable as refugees. The migration in the main has been from irrigated regions, splendidly fertile, to lands far less productive. Prosperous colonies developed by an industrious and capable Sikh peasantry have been abandoned and also much other property in rural and urban areas. Besides, some highly revered Sikh shrines are also left on the other side of the boundary.”

Shri Nanak Chand Naaz, the veteran Urdu Journalist writing in his daily ‘PARBHAT’ dated 11th Oct, 1948 says:

“As patriotic Indians we must admit that the Sikhs had a far greater share in the losses suffered by the people as a result of the partition of the Punjab.”

Now, the Sikhs had not sacrificed thousands of their sons and daughters, their age old hearths and homes, their flourishing, farms and above all suffered separation from the holiest of their shrines, including Nankana Sahib, birth place of their Holy Prophet, Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, to substitute one Master for another or to put their neck to a new yoke. They were definitely fighting for an equal and honourable place in Free India. For such a purpose explicit and categorical assurances had been solemnly given to them by all the Hindu leaders, including Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru. These assurances were incorporated in a formal resolution adopted at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress which inter alia said:

“The Congress assures the Sikhs that no solution thereof in any future Constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give them full satisfaction”,

Incidentally at this very session the Sikh National Colour (Kesri) was incorporated in the Congress National flag.

Such categorical assurances were repeatedly held out to the Sikhs right up to partition of the sub-continent and even a little beyond. At a function in Gurdwara Sis Ganj which was attended by Mr. Gandhi, Sardar Madhusudan Singh voiced the apprehensions of a section of the Sikhs that the Congress, once in power, may go back on its assurances to the Sikhs. Mr. Gandhi in a bid to allay the fears of the Sikhs said:

“I ask you to accept my word and the resolutions of the Congress that it will not betray a single individual, much less a Community. If it ever thinks of doing so, it would only hasten to its own doom. I pray to you to unbosom yourself of all your doubts and apprehensions. Let God be the witness to the bond that binds me and the Congress to you.”

“I venture to suggest that the non-violence creed of the Congress is the surest guarantee of good faith and our Sikh friends have no reason to fear that it would betray them. For, the moment it does so the Congress would not only thereby seal its own doom but that of the country too. Moreover, the Sikhs are a brave people They know how to safeguard their rights by the exercise of arms if it should ever come to that.”

Speaking in the same train, Mr. Nehru declared at a press conference on the eve of the All India Congress Committee meeting at Calcutta, on 6th July, 1946 that;

“The brave Sikhs of the Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set-up in the North wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom.”

In this context the resolution adopted by the Congress Committee at its meeting held on 5th January, 1947 is also very relevant:

“The All, India Congress Committee realise and appreciate the difficulty placed in the way of provinces, like Assam, N.W.F.P. and the Sikhs in Panjab, by the British Cabinet Scheme of May 16, 1946 and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British government in its statement of December 6, 1946. Congress can not be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned. The rights of the Sikhs in Panjab should not be jeopardised.”

In a bid to reinforce these commitments, the Congress working Committee passed yet another resolution in March 1947 regarding the scope of the Constituent Assembly jurisdiction. It was specifically stated therein that no Constitution would be imposed on any people of any State without their consent and approval. It is relevant to point out that even upto now, the Constitution of India has not been formally accepted by the Sikhs for failure of its Founding Fathers to honour their commitment with the Sikhs. The then two Sikh members of the Constituent Assembly S. Hukan Singh and S. Bhupinder Singh had refused to sign it.

Another important resolution in this respect is the one moved by Jawahar Lal Nehru on 9th December, 1946 in the opening session of the Constituent Assembly which was called upon to declare;

“That the various territories of the Union of India would be autonomous units with residuary powers.....”

This resolution moved by Jawahar Lal Nehru in the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly held under the Chairmanship of Babu Rajinder Parshad besides being the first was also perhaps the most fundamental of its nature in as much as it embodied categorical assurances to the religious and ethnic minorities that suitable safeguards would be provided for them in the Constitutional Instrument of Free India. It says inter alia:

“Adequate safeguards would be provided for minorities..... It was a declaration, a pledge, and an undertaking before the world, a Contract with millions of Indians and therefore in the nature of an oath, which we must keep.”

These most solemn assurances by the first Prime Minister of India, would be given on floor of the most august body, have to be read with a solemn undertaking given earlier to the Sikhs by no less a person than Mr. Gandhi — popularly known as a Mahatma, adored by some as a saint and worshiped by yet others as a prophet, right in the holy premises of Gurdwara Sis Ganj Delhi on March 16, 1931, to realise the full significance of the breach of trust to which the Sikhs, as a Nation, have been subjected by persons and people who never tire of boasting about their so-called higher morality and holier than-thou attitude in public and private matters both. The sorry state to which the Sikhs are now condemned as a consequence of the betrayal of these solemn oaths, taken publicly has been very aptly described by Bhai Sahib Sirdar Kapur Singh, who incidentally had its impact in full measure. Speaking on the floor of the parliament he said. “When neither the feelings of shame, the reproach of the conscience nor the dread of the punishment from any bar is there, the sufferers can only pray to God, which the Sikhs are doing today.”

In the month of July, 1947 the Hindu members of the Panjab legislative Assembly joined hands with the Sikhs and meeting at Delhi passed yet another unanimous resolution to the same effect. It said:

“In divided Indian Punjab special Constitutional measures are imperative to meet the just aspirations and rights of the Sikhs.”

The very fact that only a few months hence, the same Hindu members stoutly opposed any move to put these solemn commitments into practice leaves no doubt in the mind of any body about the real intentions of these Hindu leaders vis-à-vis the Sikhs. They were obviously swindling the Sikhs and bidding for time to betray them, which they did.

How completely the Sikhs, not trained in this art of treachery and trickery were taken in by these so-called solemn commitments on the part of Hindu leaders is evident from the un-reserved, though as is now clear unstatesmanlike, manner in which they decided to stake the entire future destiny of their Nation on them, which after all were, at best only vague and, at worst, could be a fraud which they have ultimately turned out to be. How many of them must now be writhing under the painful realization of a rare opportunity which the Sikhs threw away under the spell of such casual commitments. On 12th May, 1947 Lord Mountbatten, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh flew to London on the invitation of the British Cabinet in search of final solution of the Indian Communal Problem. When the Congress and the Muslim League failed to strike any mutual understanding and Pt. Nehru decided to return to India, some influential members of the British Cabinet conveyed to Sardar Baldev Singh that if he stays behind arrangements might be made:

“So as to enable the Sikhs to have political feet of their own on which they may walk into the current of World History.”

Sardar Baldev Singh lost no time in divulging the contents of this confidential offer to Pt. Nehru and in compliance with the latter's wishes declined to stay back. He flew back to India along with Mr. Nehru with the following message for the Press:

“The Sikhs have no demand to make on the British except the demand that they should quit India. Whatever political rights and aspirations the Sikhs have they shall have them satisfied through the goodwill of the Congress and the Majority Community.”

At that time S. Baldev Singh might have taken pride in throwing these seemingly brave words in the face of a World Power but, during the subsequent course of events they have bounced on the people whose interest he was supposed to safeguard with such a force that they are now limping under its impact. There are reasons to believe the stories that while on his death-bed, S. Baldev Singh cursed himself for having ruined the future prospects of his Great Community not once but least thrice on similar occasions.

The same must have been the feelings of Master Tara Singh who in early thirties threw away identical offers of the British Government. In 1932, at the time of the 2nd Round Table Conference, the British Govt, through S. Bahadur Shivdev Singh, then a member of the Indian Secretary of State Council, made an informal proposal to the Sikhs that if they dissociate themselves from the Congress they would be given such a decisive political weightage in the Panjab as would lead to their emerging as a third independent element in India after the British transfer power to the inhabitants of the sub-continent. Master Tara Singh is reported to have said at that time that he cannot blacken his face by agreeing to this suggestion. Little did he know that by rejecting that offer he was blackening the future of his own people.

In this very context it would be pertinent to recall that in April, 1947, Mr. Jinnah, with the concurrence of the British Cabinet offered to the Sikhs, first through Master Tara Singh and then through the Maharaja of Patiala a Sovereign Sikh State comprising of areas lying in the West of Panipat and East of left bank of the river Ravi on the understanding that this State confederates

with Pakistan on the following terms:

1. The Sikh would enjoy full internal autonomy in this area.
2. 33 percent seats would be reserved for the Sikhs in Punjab and 20 percent in the rest of Pakistan, High Courts and Supreme Court including,
3. One of the two-Governor or Chief Minister of Punjab would always be a Sikh.
4. The Sikhs' strength in the army would be at least 40 percent and Army High Command would also be similarly apportioned.
5. No constitutional arrangements or legal enactments would be enforced if the Sikhs by a majority of their votes decide to reject them on ground of discrimination against them,

Mr. Jinnah had sound reasons of his own to make this offer because as he said, in the event of Muslim-Sikh accord the partition of Panjab and Bengal would be averted. He was convinced that the partition of Punjab would not only break the back bone of the Sikhs but would also cause incalculable harm to Pakistan as well.

Master Tara Singh summarily rejected this offer without any valid reasons against it and Maharaja of Patiala also declined to accept it on the advice of Sardar Patel and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, for reasons which are not quite clear.

Perhaps they had been completely sucked in by the Hindu influence which was using the Sikhs for no other purpose except to advance its own cause. The frame of mind in which the Sikh leadership was then caught had been brilliantly captured by Mr. Jinnah during the course of a lecture at a Cambridge University on the subject of Political condition of the Muslims. Referring to the quandary in which the Sikhs were then caught he said;

“It is difficult to understand the position of the Sikhs by logic or justice. They claim the rights of a separate Nation but are determined to do down the Muslims at the instigation of the Hindus. Ah! the Sikh Leadership.”

When Sirdar Kapur Singh, who had earlier walked out of the meeting as a protest against the disparaging remarks against the Sikh leaders happened to meet Mr. Jinnah at his hotel evening he was admonishingly told.

“Youngman, sentiment and emotions are not the same thing as Political insight. Consider my remarks dispassionately and if you can do some thing do it. When you grow old, you would mark my words.”

Most of the more sensitive Sikhs now do mark these prophetic words and none perhaps more than Sirdar Kapur Singh himself to whom they were first spoken.

There is thus abundant evidence on record to conclude that:-

1. During the course of fight for freedom the Sikhs were recognized as the third major National Entity in the Indian Sub-continent besides the Hindus and the Muslims.
2. The British government was favourably inclined to give the Sikhs independent political foothold on this subcontinent on about parallel lines of the two Communities, Hindus and Muslims.
3. The Sikhs then, had three options before them, to opt for a Sovereign Status or two voluntarily align themselves with India or Pakistan on pre-agreed terms enshrined in Constitutional Enactments.
4. Mr. Jinnah was as much keen to woo the Sikhs as the Hindu leaders.

5. The Sikhs preferred to side with the Hindus on account of cultural affinity and also on the strength of categorical, firm and solemn assurance to the following effect:
- (a) The Sikhs, as a separate National group would be entitled to a fully autonomous status within India, after the vacation of the British Rule.
 - (b) No Constitution would be forced on them which if not freely acceptable to them.

Apart from these most solemn commitments, the British Parliament's 'Transfer of Power Act of 1941' also specifically provided that the Indian Government shall be a federal, loose-centre government, exercising powers on only three subjects namely, communications, defence and foreign affairs.

In view of these firm facts of recent history only a diehard or a dishonest person can accuse the Sikhs as traitors and collaborators. The boot lies on the other foot rather. On the basis of these explicit and categorical assurances the Sikhs had been consistently opposing tooth and nail the partition of the Indian Subcontinent. Mr. Gandhi had been proclaiming day in day and out in his prayer meetings that "vivisection of India would be vivisection of myself". But, as the prospects of enjoying the fruits of power in their life time were receding with the advancing years, the Hindu Congress leaders as a whole decided to accept partition to be able to sit in chairs of power, may be of a truncated territory (Reference Gaffar Khan and Maulana Azad). Naturally enough, the Sikhs and the Red Shirts who had staked everything on the assurances of these leaders were caught on the wrong foot and suffered immensely. J. N. Sahní, a veteran Editor of Hindustan Times says in his book, 'The lid off' (p. 202): "The letting down of the Red Shirts and (the Sikhs) was not an act of carelessness on the part of Congress leaders nor even a blunder. But an act of gross and unpardonable betrayal."

Admitting this fact, Mr. Gandhi, at a prayer meeting on 2nd June 1946 appealed to the people to accept partition Plan saying, it was the willing act of the Congress and the Muslim League." When someone reminded him that he had all along been saying that "the vivisection of India would mean a vivisection of myself", he said, "Public opinion was against me and I could not coerce it," (Lid-off P, 205). Isn't one entitled to ask if the tallest of the Congress leaders had to submit before the way-wardness of the more vociferous and trouble makers among the public, then why did they beguile the people with high sounding moral commitments?"

The Red Shirts being Muslims, a vast majority of them were able to adjust themselves soon in the changed circumstances of Muslim State, though their leaders like Gaffar Khan and Wali Khan are still paying the price of reposing their confidence in the Hindu Congress leaders. However, for the Sikhs, 1947 marked the beginning of a far more bitter and consuming struggle. Immediately, thereafter, they were declared as a criminal class (Sachi Sakhi by Sirdar Kapur Singh I.C.S.) and are being treated as such ever since then. In effect every Sikh today is a suspect in the eyes of the law makers. Even the most innocent of their demands, for example, the creation of Punjabi Suba or holy city status for Sri Amritsar, is looked upon as a stepping stone for 'Khalistan', notwithstanding the fact that in keeping with its own commitments the Congress leadership was committed to the reorganization of the land on the basis of regional languages. While these commitments were upheld in other parts of the country, Sikhs had to sacrifice dozens of their followers and send about 60,000 more to Jail to achieve a Punjabi speaking province and that too moth-eaten. Even after 35 years, it is still incomplete and whenever a demand is made for the inclusion of the left out Punjabi-speaking areas a storm is raised saying, "Khalistan is coming. Khalistan is coming..." Such is the state of secularism in India. Majority can do no wrong and the

minorities, especially the Sikhs, can do no good. Such is the nature of political ethos here.

I shall do well to quote here a part of the speech made by S. Hukam Singh, (a former speaker of Lok Sabha), on the floor of the Parliament of India immediately after 1947.

“The Sikhs are told, when they remind the Congress of their past pledges in 1929, 1946 & again in 1947 that circumstances have changed. The Sikh were recognized as one of the three Communities in the Cabinet Mission Plan of which the Constituent Assembly is the creation. The only changed circumstance is that the Muslims have got Pakistan. Does it stand to reason that because the Muslims have secured Pakistan, therefore, the Sikhs have ceased to be a minority. I would be failing in my duty if I do not point out as to what our feelings are. Pakistan resorted to crude and positive violence to eliminate their minorities. We are using a subtle and indirect way for finishing them”.

The story is too long to be treated at length in the columns of a paper. I shall therefore, confine myself to answer some of the more naughty questions raised by Mr. Shourie not perhaps out of ignorance but malice. In either case they have done little credit to him as to the larger interests of the Country.

According to him, the Sikhs betrayed the National cause in what he calls the first battle for freedom in 1857. Power has a way to turn scoundrels into saints, and saints into scoundrels, but, he must remember that the Truth has a way to resurrect itself ultimately. To save time and space, I shall content myself to quote here the opinion of the 1st Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, about the 1857 rising. Writing in his famous book ‘Discovery of India’ (P. 324-325) he says.

“Essentially it was a feudal outburst headed by feudal chiefs and their followers. They were incapable, unorganized and with no constructive Ideal or community of Interest. They had already played their role in history and there was no place for them in the future. Many of their own numbers, in spite of their sympathies, thought discretion to be the better part of valour and stood apart, waiting to see on which side the victory lay, many played the part of quislings. The Indian Princes as a whole kept aloof or helped the British fearing to risk what they have acquired or managed to retain. There was hardly a national or unifying sentiment among the leaders and a mere anti-foreign feeling coupled with a desire to maintain their feudal privileges was a poor substitute for this”.

In the light of these categorical observations, only a naive would term them this ‘Storm in the tea cup’ as a National Battle for freedom. As for the Sikhs, they could not be expected to help restore the Mughal empire which for about a century had been persecuting them with the intent to exterminate them root and branch.

Whatever our wishful thinking, it is a hard fact that the people inhabiting the Indian sub-continent have never constituted a single Nation in the accepted sense of the term. What to say in 1857, even now according to Nirad C. Chaudhry (The Continent of Circe, page 36): “I do not consider that all the citizens of this state (India) belonging to one Nation”.

Again, according to Mr. Shourie the Sikhs have never been a sovereign religion, distinct from Hindus. He avers that it were the British who created the cleavage between the two and the Sikhs, according to him, became a willing tool in the hands of the erstwhile rulers. In a curious bid to lend credence to this preposterous proposition he has tried to catch at straws. For example, the

catholicity and Liberalism with which Maharaja Ranjit Singh treated the Hindus is cited as a proof thereof. He goes to the length of claiming Mati Dass and Banda Singh Bahadur to be Hindus in this context. Normally one would be inclined to dismiss this non-sense as the brain wave of an ignorant or naive person, but unfortunately that is not the case. It is part of a pernicious and perverted effort to efface the distinct socio-spiritual and ethnical identity of the Sikhs with a view to swallow them up in the Hindu fold like Buddhism and Jainism. As such, this deserves a very special notice. Incidentally this is one of the main grievances of the Sikhs in free India. This pernicious effort has its roots in the deep past, though the process has been considerably accelerated after 1947. According to a report dated 11th August 1901, (National Archives, New Delhi) by D. Petrie, then Director, criminal Intelligence, Govt. of India:

“Hinduism has always been hostile to Sikhism whose Gurus powerfully and successfully attacked the principle of caste which is the foundation on which the whole fabric of Brahmanism has been reared. The activities of Hindus have, therefore, been constantly directed to the undermining of Sikhism both by preventing the children of Sikh fathers from taking *pahul* and by reducing professed Sikhs from their allegiance to their Faith. Hinduism has strangled Buddhism, once a formidable rival to it and it has already made serious inroads into the domains of Sikhism.”

If Mr. Shourie has any genuine doubt about the sovereign status of Sikhism, his attention is invited to the holy words of Holy Guru Arjan Dev who says in ‘Rag Bhairo’:

“We are neither Hindus, nor Musalmans”
(*Na ham Hindu na Musalman*)

Such references are repeatedly found in Sikh Scriptures so much so that Guru Gobind Singh strictly enjoined on his followers to preserve their separate identity at all costs and refuse to follow the Brahminical way of life. As per his injunction:

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਹੇ ਨਿਆਰਾ ॥
ਤਬ ਲਗ ਤੇਜ ਦੀਓ ਮੈਂ ਸਾਰਾ ॥
ਜਬ ਯਹ ਗਹੇ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤ ॥
ਮੈਂ ਨਾ ਕਰੋਂ ਦਿਨ ਕੀ ਪਰਤੀਤ ॥

For his added satisfaction Mr. Shourie’s attention is invited to the observations of Mohsin Fani, the author of DABISTAN who visited Punjab in the Sixth and Seventh Gurus’ time, Writing about the Sikhs he says:

“The Sikhs of Guru Nanak condemn idolatry and believe that all the Gurus are identical with Nanak. They do not read the Hindu Mantras, nor do they pay any regard to their shrines. They do not believe in the Hindu Avatars and do not study Sanskrit which, according to Hindus is the language of God”.

“The Sikhs do not have any faith in the ritual and ceremonies enjoined by the Hindu Shastras, nor do they observe any superstitious restrictions about dining”.

Sujan Rai of Batala wrote in 1697 in his Khulasatul Twarikh:

“The only way of worship with them (the Sikhs) is that they read the hymns composed by their Gurus and sing them sweetly in accompaniment with musical instruments.”

Guru Gobind Singh has said quite clearly that the Sikhs, with all their sympathy and love for other communities are not to confuse their Ideals with those of other:

“The Sikh is to keep his observances distinct from those of other people of all the four varnas. He should have dealings with everybody, but his belief and programme of life should be different all the same”.

(Suraj Parkash. Rute 3, Adhya 50)

Now if Maharaja Ranjit Singh respected the Hindu sentiments he also showed similar respect to the Muslim sentiments as well. That does not mean that he had forsaken Sikhism. As a matter of fact he was a staunch Sikh who started the day's work by hearing recitations from holy Granth Sahib. The coins he struck were in the name of the holy Sikh Prophets, his National flag bore the Sikh colour and emblems and in all the international treaties his government is referred to as SARKAR KHALSA. Even Mr. Nehru refers to his State as a Sikh State in his book Discovery of India, P. 324).

Sikhism in fact is grounded in respect for all religions. It must be remembered that the very foundation stone of Harmandir Sahib was laid by a Muslim divine, Mian Mir. Many of the Sikh Prophets had mosques built for the benefit of the Muslim inhabitants of the areas..... Bhai Mati Dass whom Mr. Shourie is keen to portray as a Hindu was a Diwan of Guru Teg Bahadur and his nephew, Gurbax Singh, fought on the side of Guru Gobind Singh. The Sikhs, opposition to the raising of his statue at Delhi is born out their religious sanctions against idol worship. Incidentally how is it that the Hindus after more than two centuries have suddenly found infatuation with his memory? Who does not know that this is a crude and base attempt to undermine the Sikhs' tenets and traditions. Similar is the case with Banda Singh Bahadur. This is an established fact of history that he was baptised as by Sikh by Guru Gobind Singh. He fought as a Sikh leader and died a Sikh for the greater glory of his new Faith. For Mr. Shourie's information (if at all he does not know that) his State Seal and the coins he struck were in the names of Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh and not in the name of any Hindu deity.

No Nation can ever survive on borrowed glory. But this is what people like Mr. Shourie are doing today. If the Sikhs have a lion they must also have one. As such, they are on the one hand owning Maharaja Ranjit Singh and on the other hand creating paper lions from their own stock who may fall a prey to failure of heart, but, are trumpeted as 'lionhearted' martyrs of police repression (Ref. Lala Lajpat Rai). If the Sikhs take out religious processions they may also do now. The Sikhs keep their holy Granth in a 'Palki' why shouldn't they? etc.....etc.....

These are precisely the attempts which pose a threat to the integrity of the Sikh Faith and they are a clear evidence of the fact that the 'Panth is in danger', is not a bogey raised by some ignorant and self-seeking Sikhs but is a hard reality. Almost ever since its birth, the Sikhs have been facing threats to the integrity of their Faith. The opposing Brahmins joined hands with the Muslim rulers to nip it at the very first stage and Guru Gobind Singh had to fight most of his battles against the Hindu Rajas. Under the Mughals and Afghans there were state orders to shoot the Sikhs at their very sight. The British took control of the Gurdwaras connived with the Mahants with this very end in view. And now the renewed efforts to undermine the Sikh tenets and traditions are aimed at effacing its identity. Mr. Shourie has tried to ridicule the Sikh way of life with this very end in view. But, notwithstanding all the infirmities that might have crept into our ranks we are still far better than most of the other religious communities, including the Hindus, in as much as we still have the will to safeguard the treasures of our Faith. For example, some years back the Time magazine reported a survey made among 2,000 young people between 18 and 29 years of age, of the 19% who said that they believed in Bible, 77% confessed that they

had never read it. What is true of Christianity is also true of Hinduism. If a sample survey is made not even one percent of the Hindus would be found with 'JANJU' on them.

Now, I would like to conclude this lengthening article with a few observations on the off repeated accusation against the Sikhs that they refuse to separate religion from Politics. What is not adequately realized is the fact that the Sikhs are not merely a religious group but also a Nation qua a 'political Community' as termed by Nirad C. Choudhary (The Continent of Circle, 1967. p. 279). That the Sikhs are a Nation is a mode of assertion that they have a socio-political cultural identity of their own as a Community. The socio-religious identity once lost was regained through the Sikh reformative movements of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The Gurdwara reform movement was a significant part of the first phase of the Sikh renaissance. In the second phase the stress was on re-discovering and preserving the cultural identity which in the post-independence era is sought to be protected through Punjabi Speaking State with sufficient safeguards on the lines of Anandpur Sahib resolution, whose validity is enshrined in the most solemn assurances given to the Sikhs (referred to above).

It goes to the credit of the Sikhs that they proclaim what they believe. But, how about Hindus? Have they separated politics from religion? The very concept of 'BHARAT MATA' is essentially religious in character in as much as it connotes a deity like 'DURGA MATA'. At the prayers meetings of Mr. Gandhi there was more politics than religion. And, most amusingly it is perhaps not known to many that the day of independence for India was advanced from 14th August to 15th August 1947 because according to some astrologers 14th August was an inauspicious day. (Lid-off by Sahni. P. 207).

In this connection it would be very much relevant to point out that the National Anthem 'Bande Matram' is essentially religious in as much as it is a song which invokes 'Goddess Durga bearing ten weapons' and which Bankim Chander, in his Anand Math, had put into the mouth of Bhabananda, the leader of a band of Sanyasi fanatics. The word 'Mata' (of which mataram is the accusative case) means 'Mother' in Sanskrit. Very clearly, therefore, it is the same as the more, colloquial phrase 'Kali Mai Ki Jai', Victory to Mother Kali, a formula in everyday use, but sometimes, when uttered by an excited crowd, leading to lamentable excesses of religious violence (Illustrated weekly of India, March 27, 1971).

Mr. Shourie takes exception to Sikhs' wrapping their Holy Book (which incidentally for them is the very embodiment of God and their Gurus) in rich 'RUMALAS', but has no word for the sumptuous sums that are being spent in thousands of temples all over the Country on questionable ceremonies. As an example, I seek to draw his attention to the editorial comments on the subject in his own Paper, Indian Express (dated December 7, 1971) according to which: "There are about 1,200 temples in 'Kerala which find it difficult to worship God with Rs. 30,00,000 a month'. Have our gods become so greedy that austere prayers would not reach them.

The Meenakshi Temple at Madaras found it necessary to air-condition the sanctum sanctorum. Does the deity swelter in the heat of Madurai..... Deities are taken out in ceremonial processions in gold and silver Chariots drawn by richly caparisoned horses. It is reported that Rs. 10 crores of temple funds are misappropriated every year"

Now, when at every Sikh Gurdwara, thousands of people drawn from all classes are fed daily, according to the Times of India, dated June 29, 1971. The richer temples in the Country have no sense of social obligation. This became shockingly evident during the Bihar famine when

the temples in the State refused to donate any money for feeding the hungry. Nor have temples shown any concern for the millions of refugees from East Pakistan. In sharp contrast the manner in which on every similar occasion the doors of every Gurdwara have always been thrown open to the people in distress is borne out by the following except from an article by M. B. Lal published in Statesman dated 3. 1. 72.

“At the peak of the hostilities against Pakistan in December, 1971 the Akalis threw open Gurdwaras to provide free food and shelter to thousands of displaced people from the border.” Immediately before the almost all leading Akalis were in jail, yet when the war began and the Akali leaders were released, the Gurdwaras which earlier were used to house jathas for the agitation against the Centre became the State’s biggest sanctuary for civilian war victims. Even official relief for them came much later. The speed with which the Akalis responded to the challenge of the War, despite their handicaps, will not be easily forgotten by the people in the border areas. It was a miniature War operation by itself. Food was cooked in big Gurdwara Kitchens and carried about 20 miles in trucks every day to smaller Gurdwaras near the border where thousands of evacuees had taken shelter. Several thousands quilts were also provided to those who had no time to collect their belongings before they fled. The Congress has no similar effort to boast of.”

And yet, the temple and their traditional places are more holy than the Gurdwaras and their sacred centres. Varanasi and Hardwar for example are more sacred than Amritsar or Tarn Taran. Is it because according to Statesman (dated May 30, 1982):

“Varanasi is a generous city. It offers instant Mukti, the best of its kind. For in Shiva’s city a dip in the Ganga gives you nirvana Mukti, you are saved forever. After all Banaras is Avimuktaka — bereft of sin. And now the city has reached headlines by producing the first heroin lab in the country. It is Kashi’s nirvana mukti again. Just of another kind.”

And about the Gangas, I shall content myself to draw Mr. Shourie’s attention to a statement of Mr. Sham Lal Yadav, Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha (Tribune 6th June, 1982) according to whom “Gangas Water has been polluted to such an extent that it is not fit even for irrigation, let alone bathing.”

Now. Mr. Shourie seems to have amazingly trained and tutored ears which cannot stand the strain of Gurdwaras’ loud speakers but are thrilled at the shrieks of the ‘JAGRATA’ amplifiers installed right in the public squares and in the thick of populated areas. Piercing through the stillness of night and even the closed doors, the film tunes sung at the highest pitch under the influence of SOMRUS, from the JAGRATA stages fall on the helpless people like thunderbolts and reduce them to a state of utter helplessness. On one such occasion, I frantically closed all the shutters and even plugged my ears in a bid to go to sleep but there were too feeble efforts to stand against the mighty onslaughts. At about 3 A.M. I gave up all such efforts and decided to have a morning stroll. As I came out, the Bhajan Mandli of JAG RATA Was singing this ‘holy’ hymn.

ਘਾਸੀ ਰਾਮ ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਮ
ਗੜ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਕਾਨ
ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਨਾਈ ਦੀ ਦੁਕਾਨ
ਪਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਜਗਰਾਤੇ ਜਾਨ

Feeling greatly amused I drew nearer and had the pleasure of more such ‘holy’ pranks to relieve my tiredness.

As against these exhilarating 'holy' songs, how can Mr. Shourie find solace in the celestial Gurbani hymns. That is why he is confounded by the holy music sung from the Gurdwaras and is piqued at the elaborate way in which the holy word is revered and honoured. For a person for whom all religious merit consists in burning particular quantities of ghee and incense, at a particular hour through a particular person hired to mutter a few unintelligible mantras the concept of 'holy word' being the embodiment of God & Guru is too subtle a concept for him to imbibe. As such, there is no need to try to educate him on the traditional holy ceremonies at Golden Temple most of which were started under the inspiration and guidance of the holy Sikh Prophets themselves.

Lastly, I wonder if Mr. Shourie is serious about his suggestion for the imposition of a uniform Civil Code and Personal law on all citizens of India, irrespective of their respective religions and cultural heritage. If so, I must say that he is dangerously foolhardy to toy with an Idea which has spelled utter ruination for such mighty Empires as of Aurangzeb and Abdali, who too had similarly tried to impose a Uni-Central Society.

Now just a word about Mr. Shourie's another article captioned 'My heritage too' in the issue dated 2nd June 1982 of the Indian Express. After all these invectives against the Sikhs, his enthusiasm for a share in the Sikh heritage is intriguing and amusing, to say the least. He must know that only legitimate children become legal heirs to the ancestral properties. Those of Mr. Shourie's kind who have disowned their own mother (Punjabi language) even, cannot possibly be the heirs to our glorious heritage.

IMPRESSIONS OF SOME OF THE MORE EMINENT READERS ABOUT S.
DEVINDER SINGH DUGGAL'S REJOINDER TO Mr. ARUN SHOURIE'S ARTICLES
PUBLISHED IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS.

Dear Sardar Devinder Singh Ji.

Guru Fateh. Apropos of the series of articles about 'The Sikhs', please accept my heartfelt appreciation. The series is a befitting, well-researched rejoinder to Arun Shourie's version.

As one in the Community, I once again congratulate you for the job very well done,
With regards,

Sincerely Yours,
(DILBIR SINGH)
11, Rattan Chand Road.
The Mall, Amritsar.

ਪਿਆਰੇ ਵੀਰ ਦੇਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ,
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ ॥
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ॥

ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤਿੰਨੇ ਲੇਖ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ। ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਸੁਆਦ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਲੇਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਬੋਰਡ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਉੱਚਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ, ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਤਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਮਰੱਥਾ ਤੇ ਬਲ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰੇ।

ਲਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਐਮ. ਏ.
ਚੇਅਰਮੈਨ (ਰਿਟਾ.)
ਪਬਲਿਕ ਸਰਵਿਸ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨ, ਪੰਜਾਬ,
੭—ਬੈਂਕ ਕਾਲੋਨੀ,
ਪਟਿਆਲਾ—੧੪੭੦੦੧

(40)

My Dear Sardar Devinder Singh Ji,

I have read your rejoinder to Mr. Shourie's articles in the Indian Express relating to the Sikhs. I very much appreciate and admire your knowledge of facts as well as systematic way in which these have been presented.

Nahar Singh
J -189 A, Rajouri Garden. New
Delhi-27

ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਦੇਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ,

ਜਦ ਮੈਂ ੧੨, ੧੩ ਤੇ ੧੪ ਮਈ ਦੇ ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਐਕਸਪ੍ਰੈਸ ਵਿਚ 'ਪਾਲੈਟਿਕਸ ਆਫ ਪੈਂਡਰਿੰਗ' ਦੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਭਾਗ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ ਤਾਂ ਦਿਲ ਅਤਿ ਦੁਖਤ ਹੋਇਆ ਤੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ ਤਰਲੇ ਲਏ, ਪਰ ਮੇਰੀ ਸਿਹਤ ਅੱਜ ਕਲ੍ਹ ਸਾਥ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਰਹੀ-ਫਿਰ ਮੈਂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਸੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਅੱਗੇ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਕੀਤੀ—ਦਾਤਾਰ! ਕੋਈ ਭਾਈ ਮਹਿਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰੋ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ-ਘਰ ਦੇ ਧਰੋਹੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸੋਧੇ।

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਲੱਖ-ਲੱਖ ਸ਼ੁਕਰ ਹੈ-ਉਸ ਮੇਰੀ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਸੁਣੀ ਤੇ ੨੦-੨੧-੨੨ ਮਈ ਦੇ ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਐਕਸਪ੍ਰੈਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਪ੍ਰੋਕਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਪ ਦੇ (ਸ: ਦਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੁੱਗਲ) ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਖਿਆਤ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਹੋਇਆ ਦੇਖ ਲਿਆ-ਕਲਗੀਆਂ ਵਾਲੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਅੱਗੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਨਿਮਾਣਾ ਸੀਸ ਝੁਕ ਗਿਆ-ਇਹ ਕੱਟਿੰਗ ਮੈਂ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਲਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ (ਸਾਬਕਾ ਚੇਅਰਮੈਨ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਸਰਵਿਸ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਿਤ ਸਾਥੀ ਭੂਤ ਪੂਰਬਕ ਡਾਇਰੈਕਟਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਭਾਗ ਨੂੰ ਦੇ ਦਿਤੀਆਂ-ਇਹ ਰੋਜ਼ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਅਸੀਂ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਅਕਸਰ ਸੈਰ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਤੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਗੱਲ-ਬਾਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ) ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਜਿਤਨੀ ਭੀ ਸਲਾਘਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਬੋੜੀ ਹੈ। ਗਿਆਨੀ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਝ ਲਿਖਣ ਦੀ ਲਾਲਸਾ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਅੱਜ ਫੇਰ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਕੀਤੀ ਕਿ ਸੱਚਾ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਅਰੋਗ ਦੇਹ ਤੇ ਦੀਰਘ ਆਯੂ ਬਖਸ਼ੇ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਸਾਹਿਤ ਸੇਵਾ ਇਸੇ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੋ। (ਮੈਂ ਹਰ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਲਈ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹਾਂ) ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕੀਤੀ (ਗਿਆਨੀ ਜੀ ਪਾਸ) ਕਿ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਲੇਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹਰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਉਲਥਾ ਕੇ ਕਿਤਾਬਚੇ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਕਲ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ। ਅਜਿਹਾ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਵਾਲ ਤੇ ਸਹੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਲੇਸ਼ਣ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਨਾ

ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਆਪਣੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਆਪ ਹੀ ਕਰਵਾਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੋਹਰਾਂ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ਾਂ ਆਪ ਪੁਰ ਸਦਾ ਰਹਿਣ।

ਡਾ: ਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੀਤਲ,
੪੧੭੭/੫ ਅਜੀਤ ਨਗਰ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ

Dear S. Devinder Singh Duggal,

I congratulate you for such a brilliant and befitting rejoinder, which not only knocks the bottom out of the case of Shourie, but puts him in the dock to explain his conduct. You have done a great service to the Sikhs Nation by these articles, which must be given full publication to expose them.

(P. S. Bindra).

Retd. District & Session J'udge.

41. Jor-Bagh. New Delhi-3

ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਯੋਗ ਦੁੱਗਲ ਸਾਹਿਬ,

ਅਦਬ ਸਹਿਤ ਗੁਰੂ ਫਤਹਿ ॥

ਸ਼ਰੀ ਦੇ ਲੇਖ ਦਾ ਜਿਸ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਨੇ ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਐਕਸਪ੍ਰੈਸ ਵਿਚ ਜਵਾਬ ਦਿੱਤਾ, ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਇਸ ਸੂਝ-ਬੂਝ, ਦਲੇਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ-ਕਲਮ ਬਾਰੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਧੰਨਵਾਦ ਕਰ ਸਕਾਂ। ਇਸ ਲੇਖ ਨਾਲ ਕੇਵਲ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹੀ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ੍ਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇਆ ਬਲਕਿ ਸਾਰੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਲ ਸੋਚਣ ਦਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਦਿੱਤਾ।ਸ਼ਮਸ਼ੀਰਿ-ਦਸਤ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਇਹ ਆਰਟੀਕਲ ਸਾਡੇ ਦਫਤਰ ਦੇ ਦੇਣਾ। ਧੰਨਵਾਦੀ ਹੋਵਾਂਗਾ। ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਕਲਮ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਬਖਸ਼ੇ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੀ ਵੱਖਰੀ ਹੋਂਦ, ਹਸਤੀ ਕਾਇਮ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਕਦਮ-ਬ-ਕਦਮ ਤੁਰਦੇ ਰਹੀਏ।

ਤੁਹਾਡਾ,
ਸਰਨਾ ਜਸਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ
ਐਡੀਟਰ 'ਸ਼ਮਸ਼ੀਰਿ-ਦਸਤ'
ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ।

My dear Duggal Ji,

Sat Sri Akal,

I have read your rejoinder to Shourie. Your mastery of facts and figures is splendid. As against his malicious and venomous outburst your treatment of the subject is very logical. One feels proud of your scholarly approach. Some friends had asked me to reply to the allegations made by him, and while I was still thinking about the same, you accomplished the task in a splendid way. I am afraid. I would not have done justice to the subject in the masterly manner in which you have dealt with the same.

B. S. Bindra Advocate.

GULREZ, Civil Lines.

Ludhiana.

ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ,

ਗੁਰ-ਵਤਹਿ ਪੁਜੇ !

ਅਰੁਨ ਸ਼ੌਰੀ ਦੇ ਜੁਆਬ ਵਿਚ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਆਰਟੀਕਲ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਬੜੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨਤਾ ਹੋਈ। ਇਕ ਖਾਸ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਛਪਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਹ ਮੈਟਰ ਸਮੂਹ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੁੱਜ ਸਕਿਆ।

ਇਸ ਲਈ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਆਰਟੀਕਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਬੁਕਲੈਟ/ਟਰੈਕਟ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਕਲ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਛਪਵਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ। ਸ਼ੌਰੀ ਦੇ ਲੇਖਾਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਅਲੱਗ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਲੇਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਯੋਗ ਅਸਥਾਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਲੋੜੀਂਦੀ ਤਬਦੀਲੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਦੀ ਮਾਤਰਾ ਵਿਚ ਛਪਵਾਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕਰੋ। ਮੋਹਨਤ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਸਫਲ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ।

ਠਾਕੁਰ ਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਵਾਸੂ,
੩੨-ਰੋਸ ਕੋਰਸ, ਡੇਹਰਾਦੂਨ।

To,
S. Devinder Singh Duggal,
Incharge Sikh History Research Board.
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
Amritsar.

Dear Sir.

I, from the core of my heart, send you my sincere appreciations for the articles written by your goodself that appeared in The Indian Express, on 20th May, 21st May and on 22nd May, 82 which I with great love and confidence, have gone through. It has proved a slap on the face of ARUN SHOURIE who is having a limited knowledge about the Sikh and Sikhism.

I wish and pray to God to be kind enough to bless you with more and more knowledge about 'THE SIKHS AND SIKHISM' in the years to come.

With sincere regards.

Sincerely Yours,
(AJIT SINGH)
G- 47/4, HVF Estate Avadi,
Madras-54

ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਯੋਗ ਮੁੱਖ ਸੇਵਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ,

ਬੇਨਤੀ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਅਰੁਨ ਸ਼ੌਰੀ ਦੇ ਲੇਖ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ, ਦਿਲ ਨੂੰ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਧੱਕਾ ਲੱਗਾ, ਭਾਈ ਕਿਹੋ ਜਿਹੇ ਜਨੂੰਨੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਹਨ ਇਹ, ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੁਣ ਇਹ ਖੁਲਮ-ਖੁਲਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਦਾ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਕਰਨ ਲੱਗੇ ਹਨ। ਮੇਰੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਵੀ ਉਹ ਲੇਖ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ ਹਨ, ਹਰ ਇਕ ਦੁਖਿਤ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਨਜ਼ਰਾਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰ: ਕਮੇਟੀ ਵਲ ਹੋਣ ਲੱਗੀਆਂ, ਭਈ, ਇਸ ਦਾ ਜਵਾਬ ਕਦੇ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ੰਕਾ ਵੀ ਸੀ, ਭਈ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੀ ਬੋਝਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪ੍ਰੋਟੈਸਟ

ਕਰ ਕੇ ਹੀ ਚੁੱਪ ਹੋ ਜਾਣਗੇ, ਪਰ ਜਦੋਂ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਦੇਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੋਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਲੇਖ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਸੇ ਹੀ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਦੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਦਿਤੇ ਕਿ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਫਿਰਕੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੂੰਹ ਬੰਦ ਹੋ ਗਏ (ਅਗਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਸ਼ਰਮ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ) ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਦਿਲ ਨੂੰ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੋਈ, ਅਤੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਫਖਰ ਵੀ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੋ: ਗੁ: ਪ੍ਰ: ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ਉੱਚ ਕੋਟੀ ਦੇ ਸਲਾਹਕਾਰ ਵੀ ਰਖੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ, ਜੋ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਲਮੀ ਲੜਾਈ ਵੀ ਮੌਕਾ ਪੈਣ ਤੇ ਲੜ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ। ਸਾਡੀ ਵਧਾਈ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੋਰਾਂ ਤਕ ਵੀ ਪਹੁੰਚਾ ਦੇਣੀ।

ਸਿੱਖ ਮਿਸ਼ਨਰੀ ਕਾਲਜ (ਰਜਿ:)
ਬ੍ਰਾਂਚ ਜੰਮੂ,
ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਭਾ, ਜੰਮੂ।

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Yesterday I received a copy of 'Gurdwara Gazette' latest issue, and read your article. This article is worth weighing in gold. It is full of correct information and, contains valuable historical material which is precious. At the same time it is befitting reply to the wrong thinking man who has been giving bad articles in 'Indian Express'.

Your article throws light upon many events which had almost been forgotten by a layman like me.

Partap Singh
A-57, Malvia Nagar,
New Delhi-110017.

ਪ੍ਰਮ ਕਿਰਪਾਲੂ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ,

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ॥

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ॥

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸ਼ੋਰੀ ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਐਕਸਪ੍ਰੈਸ ਚੰਡੀਗੜ੍ਹ ਦੀਆਂ ਗਲਤ-

ਇਆਨੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਦੁਕਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਮੂੰਹ-ਤੋੜ ਉੱਤਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਸਰਬੱਤ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਵਿਦਵਤਾ-ਭਰਪੂਰ ਤੇ ਠੋਸ ਸਚਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਸਲਾਹਿਆ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਬਾਂ-ਬਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਸਾ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ।

ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਹੀ ਆਰਟੀਕਲਾਂ ਦਾ ਜੇਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਟਰੈਕਟ ਛਪਵਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਪੰਜ ਸੌ ਕਾਪੀਆਂ ਤੁਰੰਤ ਇਸ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਭੇਜਣ ਦੀ ਖੋਚਲ ਕਰਨੀ ਤਾਂਕਿ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਫਤ ਵੰਡੀਆਂ ਜਾਣ। ਜੇਕਰ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਮੁੱਲ ਵੀ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਵੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਖਿੜੇ ਮੱਥੇ ਦੇਣ ਨੂੰ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੈ।

ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ,
ਸੈਕਟਰ-੧੫, ਚੰਡੀਗੜ੍ਹ।

S. Devinder Singh Duggal.

Dear Sir.

I congratulate you for your articles in reply to 'SHARARTI SHOREY'.

Please write to 'WORLD PRESS REVIEW' to cancel the award given to him as - INTERNATIONAL EDITOR OF THE YEAR. Tell them about his writing about SIKHS and MUSLIMS and expose him a PAKKA COMMUNAL MIND. Also please write to the Minority Commission for his Communal writings.

Sawinder Singh Sahni.
A 8-Bhatia Building.
Lft. Dalip Gupta Road.
Mahim, Bombay -16

Respected Sardar Duggal Sahib,

I heartily congratulate you for writing very convincing and absorbing articles pleading the Sikh case. You have done the job excellently.

But your articles have given birth to an insatiable thirst for more such material. Our young men and women crave for such reading material.

Jaspavan Singh
1058—L/TBC Sector -3,
Talwara Township.

My Dear Devinder Singh,

You have done excellent job by writing three installments for giving befitting reply to Mr. Shourie. If you have a cause you must fight intelligently. I do not approve of making bonfire of Indian Express. You have done a great service by rising to the occasion in a befitting manner.

Dr. S. S. Dosanj.
10/40 PAU, Ludhiana.

My respected Devinder Singh Ji,

I heartily congratulate you for your three series concluded today in the Indian Express. Similar views had been ventilated by some other Sikh scholars through the columns of the Express. But you have nicely NAILED Mr. Shourie's COFFIN in a most systematic way. You have left no stone unturned.

Kartar Singh Brar
Documents Writer, Bhatinda.

My dear Respected Duggal Ji,

I have read carefully your articles namely 'The Sikhs' Glorious' traditions from I to III published in the Indian Express dated 20th to 22nd May, 1982 and congratulate you for writing the wonderful articles. It is my opinion and others also that many persons don't know the glorious Sikh History; so these articles open the eyes of non-Sikhs as well as the younger generations who are not aware of the sacrifices of the Sikh Gurus as well as the Sikhs.

I once again thank you for writing these articles.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
(K. S. Deepak)
S. Partap Singh 'Giani,
Charitable Trust,
A--17/10, Vasant Vihar,
New Delhi--110067.

S. Bhan Singh & S. Devinder Singh Duggal,
Dear Sardar Sahiban,

This is just to convey my, in fact Bombay Sikhs hearty appreciation of Sardar Devinder Singh's articles in the Indian Express of 20th, 21st and 22nd May, in reply to Mr. Shourie's in the Indian Express of 12th, 13th and 14th May. It is very well done, but to my and that of a lot of other friend's mind here, there is still much more to be done in this direction.

Bhai Hari Singh Shergill,
472--A, Kings Circle (E)
Bombay--400019.